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For example, if a father, living in Atu Oua, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And, lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door.

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled.

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue.*) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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852 783 feast then followed. This rite removed the *tapu* from the child. The natives believed that if a child made *popoi* and ate it before this ceremony had been performed, he would become ill and perhaps die. The beating of the first *popoi* that the child made on the board resting on the bodies of his *pahupahu* rendered it sacred, thus consecrating this first labor of the child and making its hands *tapu* or consecrated for this work in the future. Were it not that the *popoi* board was too heavy and the operation of beating too strenuous, the heads of the *pahupahu* rather than their bodies would doubtless have supported and consecrated the work. One informant said that the main feature of this rite was a chant sung by the child's maternal uncles and paternal aunts as they lay prone under the little one.

Presentation of the Child at Its First Feast

852 ● 858 A rite called *hakahe'e* (to cause to go) in honor of first-born male and female children of families of consequence, was performed at some time before maturity. This was performed for many children at the same time and did not constitute a distinct feast. The opportunity for it was taken after the main part of some other great feast, when many people were gathered together. The time most commonly chosen was following a memorial festival *(ko'ina tupapa'u)*.

For the sake of simplicity I will describe the course followed by one particular family. The day before the rite a feast was given to the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) by the parents of the child. The family as a whole proceeded to the *tohua*. The child for whom the rite was performed was placed on the shoulders of its mother's brother—probably her eldest brother. This man, carrying the child, led a procession of the *pahupahu* around the dance area. All the *pahupahu*, as they walked held on their heads a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of red banyan-bark cloth twenty yards long, which thus formed a continuous band from the first *pahupahu*, who bore the child, to the last. (Apparently the cloth was girt about the child.) As this procession marched, female relatives chanted the genealogy of the child. The family then returned to the dwelling, where there was a pig feast, all members participating, except the father and mother for whom it was interdicted. The long strip of red cloth used in the procession was afterwards divided among the maternal uncles.

The object of the rite seems to have been the exhibition of the first-born child and the chanting of its genealogy in public. The feast that followed being in honor of the child, the father and mother could not participate—a *tapu* apparently based first on the respect due from parents

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece).

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika*, evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e*. Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e*. As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena*. When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu*.

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe*, signifies has arrived.

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto*, was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu*, who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu*. Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
592 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desirable. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other household, and naturally went to the one where the woman was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
592 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
595 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife made practically no direct economic contribution to the household. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple manufacturies. The woman who was herself the eldest child had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and prac-
tically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, outranked the parents. These infant family heads could do practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [799]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge, in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly